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ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, CONCLUDED.

What would be said in England if some sensitive patriot to prevent an "union of the purse and the sword," should propose to keep the money of the United Kingdom in the treasury of Belgium, Hanover, or Holland? These nations are scarcely more independent of the British Government and nation than our banks are of the Government and people of the United States; nor are they, on some occasions, more hostile than a portion of the banks. Is it possible that a Government which puts its means so completely beyond its own control, can, on all occasions, perform its engagements, keep its faith, or protect the people by whom it is established, and whose money supports it? It has heretofore been deemed enough that the legislative power can, at will, diminish the amount of money to be collected, and prescribe the regulations under which it shall be kept. It has not been considered necessary to establish an independent branch of the Government for that purpose, and least of all to introduce foreign powers totally irresponsible to the people, often too strong for the Government, and always devoted to making money out of all circumstances and vicissitudes. To make keepers of the public money out of such materials, is in character with those kingly notions which would give to our State bank a monarch corporation for a master, upon the plea that people cannot control them.

It is object that this is a measure of hostility to the banks. The Government is not to be a hoarder of money. What it collects it soon expends; and it has seldom occurred in our history that it has had on hand, at the same time, more than six or eight millions of dollars. It ought not to continue any system of revenue which will enable it to hold a regular surplus exceeding five millions. This is not more than a large bank finds it necessary to retain to carry on safe business. The late Bank of the United States frequently had from ten to fifteen millions. For years to come, it is probable that the whole amount of money in the Treasury will not average three millions, and will scarcely be equal to one week's recent importation of specie. It is idle to suppose that this can materially affect the operations of the banks.

The only mode in which their operations will be affected is, that they will no longer have the privilege of lending out money which is not their own. Is the withdrawal from them of this privilege necessarily an act of hostility? A farmer has been in the habit of depositing his money in a bank, but as he could not get it to pay his hired hands when he wanted it, the bank having stopped payment, he concluded that it was more safe and more just to his creditors, to keep it himself. Was there any hostility to the bank in that? It is just so with the Government. The banks had lent out the public money, and could not collect it. With millions nominally in the Treasury, the Treasury Department could scarcely pay a dollar in the legal currency of the country. It does not desire to be again placed in such a situation. It does not wish to be dependent on those whom its experience has taught it are not always to be depended upon.

The Government only desires to manage its own business in its own way; to let the banks alone, and to let be alone by them; to use them when the public interest and safety required it, but not to be compelled to use them to the public detriment. Is it just to charge every citizen with hostility to the banks who does not keep his money in them? The idea is absurd, but not more so than that a Treasury independent of the banks is in hostility to them.

It is objected that it is a measure of hostility to a sound currency. The reverse of this proposition is true. It will prevent inflation of our paper currency, which arises from the use of the public money, and, in that degree, tend to prevent fluctuations, and suspensions of specie payments. By exhibiting an inflexible determination on the part of the Government to recognize nothing as money but specie, or its equivalent, it will inspire the banks with a salutary caution, not by the excess of their issue to endanger that standard. In time, it will leave the banks to be sustained by their own capital and prudence, without tempting them with the uncertain and dangerous aid of a fluctuating public deposit.

It is objected that this measure is hostile to the rights of property, and essentially levelling in its character. The reverse of this is true. The money of the Government is the property of the people. The object of an independent Treasury is to preserve the property for the use of the true owners, instead of handing it over, to those to whom it does not belong.

out for their emolument. Its tendency is to protect individual property also. Nothing is more destructive to the rights of property than fluctuations in the standard by which its value is measured. The tendency of this measure is, to prevent those fluctuations, by preventing, in some degree, the expansions and contractions produced by the over issues of banks, and thus give stability to property.

It is alleged that this measure is part of a scheme to force on the country a currency purely metallic. This is unfounded. A specie currency for the ordinary daily transaction of life, and such a specie basis for paper as will always ensure its convertibility into specie, when required by the holders, is what is contended for; and such is the only tendency and real design of the measure proposed, so far as the banks are concerned. A purely metallic currency is no part of the Independent Treasury plan, as proposed by the Administration, and supported by its friends. In fine, with the exception of a very small number, who are in favor of depositing the public money specially in banks, the question at issue between us, and those who favor a deposit in the banks, may be stated thus: *They wish to have the public money deposited in banks, not to be kept by them but to be lent out for private use. We are opposed to lending out the public money for private uses; and, effectually to prevent it, are in favor of having it kept by public officers, under heavy bonds and securities not to use it, or suffer it to be used for any private purpose whatsoever, and to pay it out only in pursuance of appropriations made by law, as prescribed in the Constitution.*

We do not think that to furnish the banks with money to lend or to accommodate the customers of banks with the use of the public money or property, is one of the purposes for which the power to lay duties and taxes was delegated to the Congress of the United States.

On the contrary, we look upon the employment of it, knowingly and deliberately for such a purpose, or where such is known to be the natural and necessary result, as an abuse of the most aggravated character. It is taking one man's property and delivering it over to another, under false pretences, and may justly be denominated, (not as a levelling operation, but) as an exercise of arbitrary power, wresting money and property from those to whom it belongs, for the use of those to whom it does not belong. We oppose this practice, as one of injustice. We are in favor of collecting only as much money from the people as may be necessary for public purposes, leaving the rest to be used by those to whom it belongs. We are not the enemies of the banks, but we are not so much their friends as to take money out of the pockets of our constituents, and deposit it with them to swell their active capital, and increase their profits. Let them be content, as every honest man ought to be, with using that which properly belongs to them.

We look upon the withdrawal of the public deposits from the banks, as a measure beneficial to the banks themselves, and calculated to promote stability in the business and currency of the country. So long as the public moneys are made the basis of bank issues, they will necessarily produce fluctuations in credit and currency. As the deposits accumulate, bank loans and bank notes increase in number and amount; as the deposits diminish, bank accommodations are curtailed, and the circulation is retrenched. No reflecting man can doubt that the immense surplus in the Treasury two years ago, being all lent out by the banks, was one cause of overtrading and speculation which ended in a general suspension of specie payments. Ought the banks to desire the continuance of a temptation which experience has shown they have not the firmness to resist? Ought the people to permit a return to, or a continuance of, a system which not only takes from them a portion of their property for the use of the banks and their customers, but tends to render the rest unstable and insecure, by unsettling the standard of value, banishing the coin of the country from circulation, and deluging the land with an irredeemable, and, to a great extent, a fraudulent paper currency? To avoid these evils, we must remove their causes. One of the most potent is the use of public money for private purposes. By putting a stop to that mischief, and administering the Treasury Department wholly independent of the banks, the people of the United States, will have done much, through their Government, to fill the country with the precious metals, to secure a constitutional currency, to keep the public faith, to preserve the public morals, to give confidence to credit, and stability to trade, and, above all, to preserve the rights of the States and the liberties of the American people.

The subject of abolition has assumed a character so formidable in its appearance, and so destructive in its tendencies, as to call for a brief exposition of our views.

The existing relation of master and slave between the two races inhabiting the Southern portion of the Union, existed when the Constitution was formed, and is recognized in the apportionment of members in the House of Representatives, as well as in the imposition of direct taxes and the clause guaranteeing the deliv-

ery up of persons held to service or labor in one State and escaping into another.

It is manifest that the power over this subject is one of those not delegated to the General Government, and, of course, is one of the reserved powers: as such, it is under the entire control of the respective States, within whose limits the institution may exist, and with which neither this Government, nor that of the other States, nor their citizens, have any more right to interfere, directly, or indirectly than with the existence of slavery in Cuba, or any other foreign country.

From this it follows that any such interference on the part of this Government, would be without authority, and a manifest breach of the Constitution. It would, in truth, be more than a simple breach of that instrument; it would be destructive of the primary object for which the Government was instituted, which was to preserve and protect more effectually the domestic peace and tranquility of the States, and their citizens.

It also follows, that such interference on the part of other States or their citizens, would be in violation of the national compact, which they mutually pledged themselves to each other to preserve inviolate on entering into the Union.

It also follows, that the States, separately and individually, where slavery exists, are alone responsible for it, either for good or evil: and the impression that any other State or its citizens are responsible, in any way for its existence, originates in the gross and mischievous Federal conception, that ours is a great national consolidated Government, where the whole is responsible for the parts, just as the States are for counties, instead of a Federal Republic, composed of sovereign and independent States, united together for their mutual advantage, tranquility, and security.

Such, and so formidable, are the barriers against an interference with this dangerous subject within the limits of the States. Nor will those against an interference by the General Government, in any manner, in this District, be found less formidable, when duly considered.

We hold, in the first place, that to attempt to abolish slavery in this District, as an intermediate step to abolish it in the States themselves, by this Government, or the non-slaveholding States, or their citizens, would be as clearly and manifestly liable to all the objections, in their full force, to which a direct attempt to abolish it in the States themselves would be. It is the motive and object intended, and not the means that determine the character of the act. There is no code of morals which justifies the doing of that indirectly which is forbidden to be done directly. If it be unlawful to burn our neighbor's house, it would be equally unlawful to fire another, or even our own, with the intention of burning his. If there be a difference, the latter, by adding craft to guilt, is of a deeper dye.

We also hold that, whatever may be the individual opinion of public men as to the character of the domestic institutions of the slaveholding States, they have no right, when acting in public stations under the Federal Government, by any of their acts to discriminate between their institutions and those of the other States. It must be borne in mind that ours is a Federal Republic, as has been already stated, formed by sovereign and independent States, for their mutual security and happiness; and that they instituted this Government, and clothed it with powers to carry into effect these important objects. Such being the character and object of our system, it is clear that this Government can have no right whatever to give a preference to the institutions of one portion of the Union over those of another, or to use its power to abolish one or establish the other; and to do so, be the pretext what it may, would be directly subversive of the object for which it was established, by destroying that which it was intended to protect. Instead of preserving peace and tranquility, it would become an instrument, in the hands of the stronger portion of the Union, for assailing the institutions of the weaker, and engendering thereby the bitterest feelings of hostility, which, in the end, would destroy the Union itself.

Resting on these broad and incontrovertible principles we hold it to be clear, beyond dispute, that Congress has no right to abolish slavery in this District, with a view of abolishing it in the States, or to exercise any of its powers with that intention. Nor do we deem it material, in coming to this conclusion, to inquire what is the extent of its powers over this District; be they what they may, they are all conferred for special purposes, to be exercised, like all such powers, in subordination to the known objects for which they are granted. To pervert them to any other purpose inconsistent with the object of the grant, would be a violation of the Constitution, not the less dangerous because not expressly forbidden.

Thus regarding the powers of the Government, it is sufficient to sustain the conclusion at which we have arrived—that the Government has no right to abolish or interfere with slavery in the States or to use its powers to give a preference to the peculiar institutions of one portion of the Union over those of another; it admitted, and the conclusion follows as a matter

of course. It is on this broad and deep foundation that we bottom the course which we think ought to be pursued by the Government on this agitating and dangerous question. Here, and here only, can a stand be made to arrest its progress, give peace and quiet to the country, and permanency to the Union. If this be surrendered, on no other ground can a stand be made; and we call on all who love the country, and value peace, harmony, and union, to take their stand on it, regardless of all minor differences.

In addition to what we have said, we would remind our countrymen of the plighted faith of this Government to the States of Virginia and Maryland of the sacred rights of property possessed by the inhabitants of this District, when they were surrendered by these States to the protection of Congress. We would also ask an attentive consideration to that state of anarchy and confusion which must exist at the seat of the General Government, when this District shall become the receptacle of the fugitive slaves from all the neighboring States. Some of us have witnessed, and others have heard, with deep regret, the deteriorated condition of the slaves produced by this disturbing question; and in the name of the Union, we ask our fellow-citizens to forbear its further agitation.

Thus, fellow-citizens, we have laid before you a full and frank avowal of our political opinions and principles. It is for you to vindicate and maintain them. We will not say they are free from error; but our honest conviction is, that on their maintenance depend the peace, harmony, and prosperity of the people, and the perpetuity of our glorious Confederacy.

REUEL WILLIAMS, of Maine.
GARRETT D. WALL, of New Jersey.
WILLIAM ALLEN, of Ohio.
WILLIAM S. FULTON, of Arkansas.
Committee in behalf of Republican Senators.
FRANCIS THOMAS, of Maryland.
J. W. JONES, of Virginia.
ISAAC TOUCEY, of Connecticut.
J. J. McKAY, of North Carolina.
W. W. POTTER, of Pennsylvania.
J. P. RICHARDSON, of S. Carolina.
AMASA J. PARKER, of New York.
ISAAC E. CRARY, of Michigan.
ARCHIBALD YELL, of Arkansas.
Committee in behalf of Republican Representatives.

The London papers are filled with accounts of the coronation of the Queen, which took place on the 28th of June, and appears to have been a most gorgeous ceremony.

The coronation of the young Queen Victoria took place on the day appointed, (the 28th ult.) with the utmost conceivable magnificence, gorgeous pageantry, and loyal enthusiasm. We are indebted to the N. Y. Whig, for the London Times, of 26th, containing a full account of the pageant, occupying thirty-four columns of that paper. Of course, if our taste or that of our readers ran in that direction, its length would altogether exclude it from our columns. Suffice it to say, that it was brilliant beyond precedent; that it was witnessed by between 300,000 and 400,000 persons; and that no accident occurred to dash the general and pervading festivity.

The mere ceremony of the coronation, (says the New Era) in its several stages, such as the investing with the mantle, the offering of the sword and the sceptre, the ring, the sceptres, the crowning, the anointing, the enthronization, the offerings, the arrangement of the regalia, and "all that sort of thing," we shall leave to the federal prints which, naturally enough, take peculiar interest in them. We have only to remark that the affair passed off with great spirit and harmony, and was altogether the most splendid coronation recorded in English history. The chivalry of all Europe seems to have been called forth on this occasion and the foreign embassies vied with each other in displaying their most gorgeous paraphernalia that money could procure. We shall hereafter give some further particulars of this grand scheme, with such reflections as it naturally suggests to a plain republican mind.

London, and indeed all England, was entirely absorbed with the festivities which the occasion called forth and the papers are so completely filled with descriptions, that we can find scarcely any other kind of news, either domestic or foreign. We trust that the reign of young Queen Victoria, who has been educated in a more liberal school than any other British sovereign, will prove a blessing to her immense empire, and favor the progress of those equal rights, without which it must be a reign of injustice to an incomparably great majority of her subjects.

Gen. JACKSON, in a letter declining an invitation to a celebration of the 4th at Stark County, Ohio, says:—

"I offer you, gentlemen, my sincere congratulations, that among the difficulties and embarrassments of the present times, there are none that ought to lessen the faith of the Democracy in the justice and success of their principles—none on the contrary but what ought to inspire the hope that a steady adherence to those principles will soon disarm all the influences which experience has proved to be hostile to the genius of our free institutions."

ANIMADVERSION OF THE LONDON TIMES ON THE BANK WAR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT.

We find a disinterested journal—[says the Globe]—the most distinguished of any in the world for the intellectual power with which it is conducted, and for its influence over the wealthy classes in Great Britain and on the continent, with whom it maintains an unrivalled circulation—when we find such a journal, from a full and unbiassed consideration of all the circumstances of the controversy waged against the Government of the people by the banks, expressing such opinions as characterize the following article, it may be well believed that the period of Bank imposture is coming to a close. The London Times, every body knows, is a print as hostile to agrarian, levelling principles as any on the globe. It has never favored the Republican principles of Government maintained by Mr. Jefferson, by Gen. Jackson, and the present Executive of this country; but it will be seen from the article we quote upon the money market, that this high-toned paper abjures with a proper indignation the monstrous principle that banks and rag money, and the influence of a spurious credit system, are to usurp the sovereignty of the people and give law to the Government. In England, where landed property bears sway, these bankers and brokers are held in subordination to the real property holders of the kingdom, through the Government. And is it not monstrous that in this country, where the people are sovereign, that they, the holders of the soil—the productive classes—their wealth, and their Government, should be absolutely sacrificed to a fictitious credit, fictitious capital, and fictitious currency?

"The arrogance and impudence with which the war of the banks against the Government of the United States is carried on, (the assault, as their true patriots term it, of rags and 'skin-plasters,') should occupy the attention of the whole civilized world, as an event in the domestic history of that country in which all others have an interest, and in which, so far as words can do it, that Government should be encouraged to persevere in the honest and wise course it has hitherto taken. It is lamentable to think that even in this country there are to be found 'what are called 'organs' of public opinion, so ignorant or so depraved as to lend their aid to this iniquitous contest, by adopting the arguments of the 'rag-men' in America, and perverting or misrepresenting the grounds upon which this great question is raised between the parties. There exists, therefore, the greater necessity for keeping the subject constantly before the public of this country until it is finally disposed of."

To men acquainted with the principles by which currency is regulated, it would be enough to know that the 700 banks by which the United States are infested had doubled or trebled their issues in the course of two years, to enable them to anticipate all that has followed. They promoted, of course, the wildest speculations in lands, goods, stocks, and every other commodity that paper could purchase; as the crisis came on, the most grinding usury was gradually substituted for the accommodation, within legal limits, with which they commenced, and in the attempt to sustain this high-pressure action the whole exploded, and the banks and the merchants all fell together. It is no exaggeration to say of the fiscal condition of the American Union that it presented not one, but a multitude of projects, which they occurred alone, and not in the midst of a community universally infected, would have eclipsed the fame of Law's Mississippi and of our own South Sea scheme.

All that the Government did after this practical illustration of the rottenness and danger of the American system of banking, being the 3d instance of the kind which had occurred within a quarter of a century, was to declare that they would withdraw their confidence in conducting the business of the country from all banks whatever, and carry it on without any such intervention—a policy so obvious, that any attack upon it would seem to be impossible to those who do not know the insolence and perseverance of the adherents of this rotten system, and the deep root that it has unfortunately taken in the country.

Mr. Nicholas Biddle, the president of the United States Bank while it held a charter from the Government, and now the president of a Bank bearing the same name, but working under a charter obtained from the Legislature of the State of Pennsylvania, is the leader and rallying point of the whole banking interest in their attacks upon the Government. Though a man of ability, he has committed some very glaring errors, so much so, that it was said by one of his personal friends, that though Gen. Jackson, in opposing the recharter of the United States Bank, had entitled himself to the gratitude of the country, it was to the indiscretion of Mr. Biddle that it was indebted for the completion of the work. "Had the Bank confined itself," says Mr. Buchanan in his memorable speech in the Senate, "after it accepted the charter from Pennsylvania, to its mere banking and financial operations—had it exerted its power to regulate the domestic exchanges of the country, and, above all, had it taken the lead in the resumption of specie payments, a new bank, uk-

reconize-like, might have arisen from the ashes of the old. That danger, from present appearances, has now passed away. The open defiance of Congress by the Bank, the laws of the country over and over again violated, its repeated attempts to interfere in the party politics of the day—all have taught the people the danger of such a vast moneyed corporation. Mr. Biddle has finished the work which General Jackson only commenced. What Biddle now aims at is, either to force the Government to recharter him again as a National Bank, or to acquire such an ascendancy in the banking affairs of the country as will give him, virtually, the same degree of power and influence. We think, and have repeatedly said so, that by this attempt he is placing himself, and his bank, which is more than half an English bank, in jeopardy, and great indeed will be the fall, should he one day topple down from his present apparent elevation.

The more immediate object, however, in now bringing Mr. Biddle thus prominently forward, is to fix attention to the attacks which he and his confederate banks are making upon the Government, and to obtain respect and sympathy for the latter. Perhaps the best point to be stated on that side is, that the policy adopted is so just and clear, that even victory can do no more than a temporary good to its antagonists, that it will give them only a little more time and a rope wherewith to hang themselves. In the end, therefore, success must be certain for the just and upright cause. In the mean time the country, while such a rotten paper system exists, will be placed in commercial quarantine by the whole of Europe, which though it may inflict partial evils here, will act with tenfold force against the delinquents.

The object of the Opposition party in Congress, pushed on by Biddle and his banks, is now to force the Government to a bankruptcy, by opposing all attempts to raise those funds, of which they would have an ample supply but for the stoppage of the banks. All that they now require is a floating debt, with power to reissue, of Treasury bills to the amount of \$10,000,000, about \$2,000,000 only, until they can get in what is due to them by the return of the bank to honesty and fair dealing. This debt, which is jointly due from the banks, the separate States, and the merchants, amounting to more than \$40,000,000, or four times the sum required to be temporarily raised in Treasury bills; but such is the power of the banks in Congress, that a contest upon this point has been carried on for several weeks, by all sorts of trickery and ungenerous expedients, such as speaking against time, and proposing amendments which have no relation to the main question, in the hope of bringing the Government to a stand, and making it absolutely bankrupt.

These facts, which are selected from a multitude of the same kind, may suffice for the present. Fortunately, there is a common-sense view of every subject, which will ultimately overcome men, and measures too, when they deviate from it. We may leave, therefore, the American Government and people to its operation, and wait the issue quietly.

From the Eastern Argus. A FEW WORDS TO THE OLD DEMOCRACY OF MAINE.

In five weeks from this day, the most important political contest which has taken place in this State since the separation, is to be decided. The period is, indeed, close at hand, and the inquiry very naturally suggests itself, ARE YOU READY FOR THE TRIAL? Have you duly considered the immense stake at issue—the indispensable duty which every democrat owes his principles, of working early and late, in season and out of season, to secure their ascendancy? If you have not, there is now no time to be lost—but a few days intervene between the present time and the election, and they should be industriously by improved.

Your enemies are at work with unequalled assiduity—no expedient will be neglected by them which promises the most trifling advantage—there are no limits to their exertions, no bounds to their misrepresentations—they have money to buy those who can be bought, to intimidate the poor, and to swerve the doubtful—they have cunning heads to devise their schemes and corrupt instruments to put them in operation—they have hundreds of emissaries abroad, who make politics a business, and have given up all other employment; who are paid with BOSTON MONEY, and with promises of political preferment, for devoting their whole time to attempts to deceive the people by the most arrant falsehoods which ever polluted human lips—nothing is too false for them to say. This is but a faint sample of what your old enemies, the federalists, are doing now, and have been doing for months. And now, in view of these facts, allow us to press home upon your consideration, the important question, WHAT HAVE YOU DONE TO COUNTERACT THEIR EFFORTS? You have a good cause, one which deserves to triumph—are you trusting solely to that? A good feeling is abroad, the democratic party is enthusiastic and united—are you relying in fancied security upon that feeling, without an effort to turn it to account so that it shall bring out ALL your strength? If so, you are deceiving yourself! These things are good as far as they go, (and they go a great way,) but they are far from being all-sufficient. Undisciplined numbers can scarcely be said to add strength to an army. You have the power in your hands to beat the enemy by thousands—but, (let us not deceive ourselves,) you cannot do it, without a CONCENTRATED ACTION. The enemy are, at this moment, in advance of you in this respect—they have nearly completed, under the especial direction of the office-holders whose

official existence is involved in the result, the most perfect system of political organization ever known in this State—they have gone to far for a republican country—to the disgusting extent of treating intelligent men as if they were cattle, to be marked and numbered, and their good and bad qualities noted down as in the pedigree of a race horse. You must meet these extraordinary efforts with ACTION—ACTION—ACTION! That is all you want. It will not do for you to fold your arms now, on the very eve of the most important election which has occurred for years, and which you are called on by every consideration of patriotism to carry against the opponents of popular liberty and equal rights. No real democrat is so high, nor so humble, that he has not a sacred duty to perform in this momentous crisis. We must all without an exception, GO DILIGENTLY TO WORK, merging every thing in an earnest desire to procure a splendid and merited triumph for the good old democratic principles of JEFFERSON and JACKSON. These are the principles which are at stake—time has not changed the issue since the contest which resulted in the elevation of JEFFERSON—the two great parties are the same, the name of one only has been changed. Democrats of Maine, the eyes of the whole country are upon you!—results whose importance cannot be overrated, hang upon the issue of this great struggle. You have the power in your hands, and we will not for a moment place so low an estimate upon your patriotism as to believe that you will, at a time like the present, neglect the measures necessary to the full and faithful exercise of that power. Remember that "ETERNAL VIGILANCE IS THE PRICE OF LIBERTY"—buckle on your armour now, fight the battle manfully, and you will win a victory productive of the happiest results to you, and to the democracy of the whole Union. Let your watchword be ACTION, and all will be well.

From the Saco Democrat. REPUBLICANS AWAKE!!

You will soon be called upon again to exercise the right of self-government. The work of regeneration commenced by you in March and April last, is yet to be completed. The privilege which you are called upon to exercise, is a privilege always dear to the hearts of freemen.—Ours is the only country where man can feel that he is equal to his fellow men. From the want of concert of action and union among yourselves your candidate for Governor last year was defeated by a majority of a few votes, and a haughty vindictive aristocracy, a combination of money changers, bankrupts, and drones, wrested the government from your hands.

The success of your opponents is at all times exactly in proportion to the success of their falsehoods, the impression they make, and panic they can produce. They live and flourish only on the distresses of the country, either real or imaginary, and they dwell in contempt and scorn with its prosperity. Their staple productions are falsehood and panic, and a large stock must go into the market this year at a high rate, or they become as bankrupt in politics as they are now in reputation and character. These harpies live on the earnings of others, and flourish most when their country is most in distress. They have always been lions in peace and lambs in war. They hold feasts and shout long and loud at any temporary or trifling success of their party, and bluster most and fight best when their opponents are supposed to be chained.

Awake, Citizens! and do your duty. What sober, reflecting man could be present at one of their feasts, and drunkeries, such as were common last year and witness their revellings, shoutings and boastings—their train of bullies, lawyers and vagrants parading through the streets—their illuminations and their committees of bankrupts and swaggers sent off to represent them at another drunkenry to be held in a distant State, and not be disgusted with such a party, nor blush for the honor of Maine?

Who can witness their recent war notes and boasting about defending our North Eastern border, and forget how they supplied the enemy that hovered on our coast in the time of the late war, with provisions; how gallantly their poor human nature defended the State when that enemy took possession of Castine, and all the country east of the Penobscot river;—how they accepted office, collector, deputies, and surveyors, under the British, and how the whole party located within the territory allotted to, and almost unanimously took the oath of allegiance to his majesty George the 3d.

Who that remembers all this can forget that the present tory-whig patriots and their friends under the name of federalist, painted the most base and disgraceful caricatures, of our troops and their officers during the same war, stuck them up in barber's shops, and encouraged and patronized those that were engaged in it—did all in their power to embarrass and injure the government—held a jubilee and shouted victory and triumph for the allied despots, united to entail despotism upon the world, forever? Ah!—such are the patriots and heroes—which we are told that under Gov. Kent will march to Madawaska, and take immediate possession of all down east!

Awake Republicans!!—The demagogues that assail you are desperate in their purposes. Office and money is their sole object—they regard neither the means of obtaining it, nor from whence it is obtained—office, office, is their aim, and end, and they hesitate not to repeat assertions of falsehood a thousand times put forth, and a thousand times related. The democracy of Maine acknowledges no masters, no privileged orders of men. They are inspired by no mercenary expectations, no grovelling

aspirations. The greatest good of the whole is all that they seek in victory, and have nothing to lose by defeat.—They feel that themselves and their country is assailed by a band of political desperadoes unworthy the name and character they assume, and every generous man will love his country and cause the better, for the malignity with which it is assailed, the trials it is called upon to endure, and dangers that surround it. Perpetual vigilance was the condition on which the Almighty granted liberty to man—and our opponents who have so often shown themselves ready to destroy that mighty governmental fabric reared by the trials of our fathers and cemented with their blood, cannot be worthy of our trust and confidence.

Awake, Republicans!!—The prospect before you is cheering; a brighter day is dawning upon us—in all parts of the South and West the harvest is so great that laborers can hardly be found sufficient to secure it. Speculators in bread stuffs have been driven from the shambles.—The banks have been compelled to resume. The rag borrowers defeated—panic itself has fled, and, under the blessings of heaven, our country is entering upon a prosperity unparalleled in her past history to wealth and greatness.

Citizens and friends Awake!!—Let no one be deterred from the performance of his duty by the malignant sneers, taunts, or pretended scorn of our opponents. Our line is along the path of rectitude. It was the scribes and pharisees that did not believe, and a better than us has before been assailed by a junta no better than they that assail us now. The time has come when every man must place himself in the ranks in which he means to combat. A voice from the tomb of the murdered Cilley, urges us onward. Let your vote proclaim to the justifiers of his murder, the federal lawyers, fops, and geutry, that now infest the high places in your State, in language plainer than it was written on the walls of Belshazzar—*thou hast been weighed in a balance and found wanting.*

SPIRIT OF '76.

TORY-WHIG OPINIONS OF JEFFERSON.

In their attempts to conceal the true character of modern tory whiggery, its wise leaders are in the habit of claiming constant affinity with JEFFERSON, MADISON, and the prominent democrats of other days. This is done, to save the party from the odium of Federalism, which is known to be exceedingly unpopular with the mass of the people. It is done, too, in order to sustain the false position that the present whig party stands upon the old democratic ground. The more honest portion of the party, however, repudiate such fallacious ideas as dangerous in the extreme. They contend, and with an apparent show of reason and candor, that the Federal party has remained true to itself and its first principles as avowed and maintained by the Ames's the Hamilton's and the Jay's of the Federal school of politics, unchanged, only in name, which for the sake of policy, has been altered to that of Whig, to conciliate the few who have been drawn into it from the democratic ranks, and to conceal its true character from the people generally. These honest federalists who have no disposition to conceal their true motives, entertain the same hostility to democratic principles which they ever did. They cherish the same hatred of Jefferson and his coadjutors, which they cherished in the times that tried men's soul! Occasionally these ancient prejudices will be revived in their full force and with all their former bitterness, either upon the success and supposed ascendancy of the party, or to check the loud mouthed professions of democracy, or the pretended abuse of Federalism, in which some demagogues of the party with more zeal than knowledge, are apt to indulge. The last cause, induced the editor of the *New York Commercial Advertiser*, the leading tory whig paper in the city of New York to administer the following pointed rebuke to some young tory whigs who introduced in one of their resolutions, a commendatory allusion to Mr. Jefferson. It exposes what sort of an opinion is entertained of the Apostle of Democracy by the tory whig leaders:

"The reading would be, To Mr. Jefferson's exertions do we owe the reign of Jackson and Van Buren." He it was who, like Absalom, corrupted the people. He it was who sowed the wind which has brought the whirlwind. He it was who scattered in broad-cast the seeds of infidelity which have taken such deep root. He it was who commenced the attack upon the judiciary by continuing which Jackson was only treading in his footsteps. He it was who stimulated the hostility of old National Bank, which resulted in its overthrow in 1811 and a consequent demerment of the currency exactly similar to that we are yet experiencing. He it was who dismantled the navy, sold the ships, and substituted therefor a miserable spawn of gun boats, which became the sport of the nation. He it was who beggared the nation by embargoes and non-intercourse laws.—He it was who caused our whole mercantile navy to lie rotting at the wharves for years while the grass was growing in our desolate streets.—He it was who slaughtered Washington and Hamilton to the most of his powers. He it was who, we forbear. Whenever the young men prepare an address to the people we hope they will submit it to a committee of older and wiser men; men who have learned something by reading, and who know something by experience.

Jeffersonian Democrats of Maine!!—In the *Portland Advertiser* (alias *Old Portland Gazette*) of a week or two since, there appeared an appeal to the Jeffersonian Democrats, urging

them to come out from the ranks of the democracy, and unite with the tory whigs in the support of that uniform federalist, Edward Kent. What say ye now? Are you willing to follow in the leading strings of a party, whose leaders execrate and traduce the name and fame of the man whose name and fame are closely identified with the upbuilding of the glorious principles of American Democracy?

Jeffersonian Democrats!!—Ye who have been seduced into the shambles of Federalism, and are now wandering in the crooked paths of tory whiggery! Are you willing to endorse the atrocious calumnies, foul slanders and bitter resentments of the New York tory whig organ, uttered against the pure-minded and illustrious Apostle of Democracy, under whose tutelage you were instructed in the sublime principles of the democratic faith? We call upon you to consider well with whom you find yourselves associated—with the calculators of JEFFERSON—with the open slanders of his reputation. We call upon you to come out from amongst the worshippers of Federalism and join the standard of Democracy—to give your support to JOHN FAIRFIELD, a firm, consistent and unwavering Democrat, in opposition to Edward Kent, an avowed Federalist and the candidate of the revived federal party.

Saco Democrat.

MR FAIRFIELD AND THE RIGHT OF PETITION.

The tory whig papers, in their endeavors to keep the great question at issue between the two parties at the coming election as much out of sight as possible, strive to create new issues upon other subjects by misrepresenting the acts and motives of Mr. Fairfield, upon comparatively unimportant matters. In this spirit, and to this end every federal paper in the State is uniting in its efforts to cast odium upon Mr. Fairfield for his vote upon Mr. Patton's resolution relative to the disposition of certain memorials, by the House of Representatives, touching the question of slavery. It is contended by the tory whig papers that this resolution completely abrogated the inalienable Right of Petition, and consequently, that Mr. Fairfield, by his vote in its favor, indicated his opposition to the exercise of this natural and inherent Right of every citizen—a Right, acknowledged and respected under almost all forms of government, and which should be held sacred as one claiming to be administered for the benefit of the whole people.

These attempts to create an undue prejudice against Mr. Fairfield, are, we doubt not intended to secure the votes of a certain class of our citizens, who entertain somewhat peculiar notions upon the delicate question of slavery, for it is utterly impossible that any person acquainted with the circumstances which compelled the House to adopt this resolution, would place any confidence in the assertions and statements which have been so frequently reiterated, as a prominent objection to Mr. F. Now, we are free to confess, that with my opinions of this class, we entertain no sympathetic feeling—but we are not willing, nevertheless, that they should cherish any wrong notions with regard to the course of Mr. Fairfield upon this subject; we are willing that they should know the truth of the matter, and knowing this, they may govern themselves accordingly.

In the first place, the resolution introduced by Mr. Patton, and adopted by the House does not deny the Right of Petition, as has been over and over again asserted by the tory whig papers. Under that resolution, the petitioners ARE RECEIVED and laid upon the table without debate or reference. They are always at the command of any member who may choose to read them—subject to be called up before the House, at any time, the House may agree to consider them.

Such, in brief, is the substance of this famous resolution, upon which so much stress has been laid, and in voting for which a portion of the people of Maine, are confidently called upon to exert their influence against Mr. Fairfield. We will not now discuss the necessity which was forced upon the House to adopt this resolution or one of a similar character, for we might become involved in a discussion as prolix as that which would have been with the resolution itself, prematurely cut off. There may exist doubts, with many as to the expediency of adopting it. For ourselves, we entertain no such doubts—regard the resolution as fully warranted and justified by circumstances of a peculiar kind.—We would dismiss this part of the subject, with a question which we would press upon the consideration of every candid mind, could the Union of the States have been preserved, without the passage of such a resolution as Mr. Patton's, or one of a similar character? Let the tremendous excitement which took place in Congress at the late session, upon the exciting subject of slavery, be borne in mind, and we have no doubt that the course of Mr. Fairfield will meet the approbation of every true patriot who earnestly desires the perpetuity of the Union.

If Mr. Fairfield was, really, the decided enemy of the Right of Petition, which these corrupt partisans represent him, he might look even for the support of any party in this State, more especially the party which has nominated him for the highest office within the gift of the people. But it is not so; and we challenge the production of a particle of proof to sustain the foul accusation of which a few unprincipled presses have instituted against him—that he ever, in any way, or by his votes upon any measure, evinced the slightest opposition to the exercise of the sacred and inalienable Right of petition. The people of this State, and especially of this vicinity know him too well to credit

the malicious statements which have been industriously circulated against him.

We are aware for what despicable purpose these infamous stories were put in circulation. We know full well what votes were counted upon as certain, in opposition to Mr. Fairfield, if the impression could be spread that he voted against the Right of petition, on the subject of slavery, more particularly. But it cannot be possible that such gross misrepresentations will be believed by any class of people. It cannot be, that such utter falsehoods will be credited any where, especially among a population as generally intelligent as are the people of Maine. They must see through the flimsy artifice of an unprincipled party which seeks power, unmindful of the means—which appeals to falsehood to sustain it, when truth refuses to be pressed into their degrading service.

Let no voter be deceived by these foul misrepresentations. They cannot be, if they will regard this subject in its true light. Let it be borne in mind that Mr. Fairfield never voted to restrict the Right of Petition, and we feel assured from his past course, that he never will.

From the Saco Democrat.

Foreign Interference.—It appears to be pretty well ascertained that the tory whigs of New Hampshire intend manifesting quite a substantial interest in the coming election in this State. The fact mentioned by a correspondent in our paper of last week, that a certain Portsmouth merchant had been busily engaged in circulating federal speeches, &c. in one of the towns in this county is sufficient of itself to convince any one that the interest which is felt in New Hampshire among the tory whigs is rather more extensive than beneath citizen of another State. Coinciding with this movement on the part of the Portsmouth missionary, we find the following information in the Portsmouth Journal:

"From recent information we do not doubt that both York and Oxford, the Counties which border on New-Hampshire will do better than is anticipated."

Why the editors of the Journal should anticipate a gain in the Counties bordering on New Hampshire, more than in any other part of the State, may seem singular to those in the interior who have no conception of the interest taken in our election by the tory whigs of New Hampshire. The "border towns" will afford unusual facilities for the operations of the tory whigs from N. H. but we hope that our democratic friends in those towns, will show these efforts in vain, and that they can manage their own business in their own way, without the aid or assistance of the citizens of another State. In the mean time, we would gently hint to those same middle-class gentlemen the expediency of following the advice contained in the motto of the N. H. Merchants' Association, which is, simply—*Mind your business.*

AN EXPOSURE.

The following Circular, issued by the federal town Committee of Bowdoin, has been put into our hands for publication. It may be useful in satisfying our friends of the exact discipline and unwearied exertions of their opponents, and in impressing upon them the ABSOLUTE NECESSITY OF BEING UP AND DOING. Appended to it is the list of voters made to whom it was addressed. Read and Reflect!—*Eastern Argus.*

To Israel BAKER Esq., [a new Justice of the Peace made by Gov. Kent.] You are hereby requested to make a list of all the legal voters that now reside in, or that probably will be qualified to vote at next September election for State officers residing in your district, and also in the Maloon districts, and make returns to the town committee before the first day of July next, so that the town committee can make return to the county committee, and they to the State committee, that we may be able to know our strength before the coming election. You will put the letter (J) against the name of Whig, and (S) against the name of those that you consider doubtful. Be sure to get every man's name as near as possible, and how he will vote. Let this note be confidential.

Yours respectfully,
David Adams, } Town
Wm Perry, } Com-
James M. Rogers, } mittee.

N. B. You are requested to bring forward all the Whigs voters you possibly can, try to urge on them the necessity of attending the State election. It is expected every Whig will attend,—but there are some that want looking after.

(Signed as above.)

A friend who has seen one of the list of voters made out by the federalists, informs us that they have put down some of the voters under the head, "May be operated on." Men are appointed to perform the "operation"—their success will be made known in September. *Eastern Argus.*

The very last joke, and a most palpable lie. A report was put in circulation at the West, recently, that Henry Clay had died at Cincinnati from the effects of drinking too much cold water! This was too palpable a lie for credulity itself to credit. *E. Argus.*

Business. The N. Y. Journal of Commerce says, the indications of a vigorous and extended Fall trade, have manifested themselves very distinctly within the last ten days. Some of the importers of Dry Goods who have been rusting for the last twelve months, have now as many customers as it is possible to attend upon. Eight months credits are general again.

